Susan: Female, Age 24

Background Data

156 Unlike Slim, Susan is not so well liked or respected. The occasion for this is
*159 specific, an unsanctioned pregnancy during her last year in high school and a
[848] more recent marriage to an entirely disreputable Mexican from Utah. This com-
[582] munity evaluation is accentuated because of the very high respect in which her
own family is held. Everyone expected better of Susan.

[626] Susan has worked as a dishwasher in several cafeterias, both on and off the
*159 reservation, and moved to Utah so as to take a practical nursing course. She
[464] found this training uncongenial, met and married her husband, and they returned
to the reservation when his small business failed. Susan is a high school graduate.

[871] Susan's mode of selecting a husband parallels that of her mother, who met her
*159 husband while hospitalized in New Mexico. Her father by birth is an Apache
593 Indian, and by cultural affiliation a southwestern United States Spanish-American.
Without doubt, he is the most autocratic, stern, demanding, rigid adult male on
the reservation. Although a married woman with children of her own, Susan must
ask her father's permission to use the telephone or to walk downtown. Her mother
was Klamath and very well respected for her stable family life and for her active
participation in many community activities. Susan was extremely close to her
mother until her unexpected death several years ago. They were known as an in-
separable pair and her mother never went out of the house without her. The
mother's death was, perhaps, the major cause of Susan's failure to complete her
nurse's training. Susan's illegitimate pregnancy in high school was a consider-
able shock to her mother and is, with her marriage, a continuing source of strain
[155] with her father. Susan evidently feels that her behavior was a contributing
cause for her mother's death. She made a death-bed promise to her mother that
she would not be a loose girl and that she would marry and stay married to one
man. It was shortly thereafter that she married and returned to the reservation
to live with her father. There is much strain within this household, derived
from the relations between father and son-in-law, and from Susan's unsuccessful
efforts to serve two masters, for along with her marital relationship she evi-
[626] dently was trying to act as a replacement for her deceased mother's role. At the
same time her conduct has alienated her from the church, from family friends,
and from the community.

*159 The contact with Susan was made via her father, who told her that she should
[124] cooperate. Her father's motivation in this was not, as may be supposed, the con-
[123] viction that she needed testing because something was wrong with her, but in-
volved a more general sentiment. He felt somewhat honored to have an "educated
man" visit his house and that such a contact was a good experience for his chil-
[593] dren. Susan accepted this like an obedient, dutiful daughter. She came readily,
with no indication of unwillingness, and relations with her were quite good,
perhaps because of the strains of her marginal position and her need to talk
with someone.

*159 Susan seemed an apathetic person whose feelings were dulled. If anything, her
157 reactions were those of an over-trained, too obedient child. She was not very
responsive or active, and would seldom talk except to answer a direct question.
Then she would, frequently with evident pain and anxiety, describe her feelings
and situations tersely and haltingly. Susan clearly wants more than her life
now gives her, but cannot define her present conflicts or see her way clear to

-33-

Nell: Female, Age 33

Background Data

In contrast to Sparrow, much of Nell's behavior is disparaged and negatively sanctioned by the community, while she too must be located at the lower end of the status hierarchy. Nell got her first job when she was 18, and for the last five years she has been working steadily as a clerk in the Agency. She is a high school graduate and has 2½ years of business school training. Except for being away at school and a short period of residence with one of her husbands in Oklahoma, she has lived all of her life on the reservation.

Nell was raised by her own parents on their ranch and is the second eldest of nine children. Her earliest memories are of being fearful of domestic animals and of preferring to be by herself, playing with her dolls. She seldom played with her siblings or with other children, and her interest in dolls and making and dressing paper dolls continued through her first marriage in her early twenties. She felt that her mother always blamed her or the other girls for everything, while her father favored his daughters. All of the children were sent away to boarding school, and most of their childhood was spent away from home. By the age of 12, when home, Nell was busy with housework, cooking, baking, and caring for her younger siblings. In this large nuclear family there was an extensive division of labor, with each assigned his or her specific tasks. Her parents never left their children with "sitters" or relatives. Their "caretaking" activities are, perhaps, among the most consistent and extensive in the area, with the exception of the boarding school. Nell received little direct instruction from her mother, and her closest adult woman companion was her grandmother. Nell knows none of the Klamath language. Both her mother and her father were disturbed because Nell always wanted to be off by herself. When she was in boarding school her parents visited her once or twice yearly, but they never wrote her. Nell preferred her father, and when she grew up she felt that her mother was not the kind of person she had thought she was. Nell feels that this may be due to her own behavior. She received no direct sex training, and was 18 before she discovered the significance of her menses. Her first sexual experience was at 8, when she was molested by a cousin.

Nell has always preferred to play with boys rather than with girls. Today she is socially isolated at her office, where none of the other women speak to her. She is equally isolated from her family, who rejected her and threw her out of their house when she was 20, at which time she was pregnant by her first husband, who had deserted her when he discovered her pregnancy. She has been married and divorced three times and has maintained a regular liaison with at least five other men. She will go directly from one such liaison to another, with never more than a few days between men, and on several occasions some overlap. Occasionally one of her ex-husbands or ex-lovers returns to live with her and attempts to take up with her again. She has borne eight children, has had two miscarriages, and at least one abortion. She cannot tolerate not having a man in the house (it is her house maintained at her expense). Several of her children are technically illegitimate and the paternity of at least one is in doubt. It is this sexual laxity which particularly brings down the ire of the community upon her.

Nell thinks of herself as an unfriendly person who would rather be left alone, particularly by other women. She always waits until someone else makes the first advance. It was therefore surprising to have her show up one day and request testing and advice. She was in trouble and she was convinced something was wrong with her. The "presenting problem" was an unbearable load of shame, guilt,

Aunt May: Female, Age 58

Background Data

*159 [156] [184] [871] [586] [842] [597] Like Carrie, Aunt May's social position is marginal to Klamath and White segments of the community, and she occupies a position of leadership, although hers is of a more informal variety. She has 8 years of formal education, but in her words, has been learning all her life. She has been married four times. Two marriages were broken by the death of a spouse, one by divorce, and the fourth, to a White wage worker, to whom she has been married 20 years. One of the tragedies of her life is that she has never been able to conceive, but she has made up for this biological failing by formal and informal adoptions of numerous children, four of whom she had for at least for three years, and one, an adolescent boy, since birth.

[754] Unlike many of the other subjects, Aunt May is a town girl, although she has spent some time on a ranch in her youth and would now prefer to live in the country. When she was young she seriously considered becoming a Shaman, and was closely identified with one of the surviving "Indian Doctors," but she became dissatisfied with the prospects of this role. Yet she remained ambitious and [894] wanted something more for her life than the "other Indians" were getting. She took up with a white woman who put her to work and trained her as a seamstress. [759] She became an accomplished mid-wife and frequently will answer to the query if she knows a certain party, "Do I know him? Why, I cut his umbilical cord with [851] a pair of my nail scissors." When a small girl she held the role of a "child nurse" and more or less raised the remainder of her siblings. In recent years *159 156 177 184 she was literally dragged from her home by a group of white ladies who wanted her to attend their church, a church, which as a girl, on Sunday mornings she had stood outside, wishing she could enter. She is the social center of gravity for two large but separate circles of Klamath and Whites. She is one of the few Klamath women with whom elite White ladies will associate, and with them her position is so esteemed and secure that an invitation to her house is highly [794] valued. For her Klamath friends, relatives, and "pick-up" relatives (i.e., per- [608] sons she has taken to her bosom as her own flesh) she is a confidant, an advisor, and an out-spoken critic. She is out-spokenly critical of many patterns *159 156 of contemporary Klamath life, particularly excessive drinking and disordered family life. "When I was a young woman I just stopped drinking. It was making a mess of my life. I didn't want to be a wet blanket, though. I still went to [278] [363] dances and all. What happened was that I told the boys that I had broken my glass." Aunt May's home today is one built with her share of tribal income, spotlessly clean, well furnished and homey. Every room of the house has its walls and corners covered with mementos and souvenirs, each of which is associated with a treasured memory of a particular person and association. It is noteworthy that these memories are her personal property and do not include her [571] husband or adopted son. Most of her current social contacts are with Whites, for although other Klamath visit in her home, she never visits in theirs, because she does not want to get involved in their arguments.

[157] Aunt May is an extremely assertive woman whose tongue is too often sharp and biting, but every criticism is immediately followed by an effort to soften a person up, reflecting her extreme sensitivity to personal relationships. Perhaps, like Carrie, this strong joking behavior constitutes an appropriate social role. Aunt May is equally sensitive to the reactions of others to her and she will call friends to task for imagined snubs. In public she sits erect and quiet, yet attentive to all that is going on about her, and with great care

Lily: Female, Age 15

Background Data

159* 156 [873] [561]

Lily is an attractive young high school freshman. She is now repeating her freshman year, due to various difficulties the year before. One of these involved her cursing the principal, for which she was temporarily expelled, to be returned by her mother the next day. She spent the rest of the year in silent rebellion. This incident is not too serious, for more than anything else it indicates the strength of her attachment to a close-knit girls peer-group which is slightly wild and which makes it a matter of honor to oppose adults. There is little additional evidence of any serious hostility or rebelliousness. Lily is the eldest of two children; she has an elder half-sister, her mother's illegitimate daughter; and she has lived all of her life on the reservation.

[883] [874]* [571]

Lily's major activities and concerns are those of a typical, small town teen-age girl. She attends school, "hangs around" a local teen age center, flirts with the boys — White and Indian, dances — at her home or the home of a friend, and listens to records. She comes from one of the most stable families on the reservation. Her mother is Klamath, a grade school graduate who worked her way through two years of business school, evenings, in a nearby city. Her mother in recent years has begun to assume a position of leadership in certain community activities, particularly recreation and education. Additionally, she has for long been the advisor for numerous relatives. Her mother verbalizes great fear and anxiety associated with this "getting out" and has done so only under considerable external pressure. Her father is a California Indian who is the model of local White conceptions of masculinity. That is, he is vigorous and physically powerful, a hard, reliable, steady worker in a logging company, a hard "Saturday Night" style drinker, absolutely fearless, and a masterful fighter in brawls. His fights are the focus of several local folk anecdotes, and suggest his excellent reputation, for he protects the underdog, takes on the bully (by the half-dozen, if necessary), neatly dispatches all and never bears a grudge.

[177] [464] [157]

159* 157 [123]

Lily is a more flexible and less submissive person that she would seem on first acquaintance. The difficulty with knowing her is that she wears a completely impassive, rigid, unexpressive mask before all. One morning after knowing her for a year the writer walked by her and then stopped, mildly startled, for Lily had smiled (slightly) and mumbled "Good Morning" under her breath. She is also less inhibited than this mask of impassivity would suggest, as is evident from her behavior with her peers and parents, but in all instances she prefers to communicate with slight gestures and to make do with very few words. She is, in fact, a remarkably self-possessed, poised, and reserved adolescent girl, a consequence of which is that she is far more graceful than many other local girls her own age. But, generally, her responses only minimally involve her with others. She is always among people, but not always with them. Her reserve does not dissipate much with continued acquaintance, but is a constant feature of her mode of adjusting to others. She never talks freely and her terse responses to the blots and TAT cards are paralleled by an equal economy in all personal relationships. There is no evidence to suggest that she is suspicious or distrustful of others, although she can be quite persistent in avoiding people she does not like.

159* 156

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

175 the exclusive right of taking fish and gathering edible roots, seeds, and
648 berries within the reservation. Provision is made by which the right of
657 way for public roads and railroads across said reservation is reserved to citizens of the United States.

Article 2. As a payment for the ceded lands the Indians shall receive $8,000 per annum for a period of five years, $5,000 per annum for the next five years, and the sum of $3,000 per annum for the five years next succeeding.

Article 3 provides for the payment of $35,000 for removing the Indians to the reservation, subsisting them during the first year, and providing them with clothing, teams, tools, seeds, etc.

[313] Articles 4 and 5 provide for the establishment of a saw-mill, a flouring-
[256] mill, a manual-labor school, and hospital buildings, all to be maintained
[874] and supplied with working material at the expense of the United States for
[783] the period of twenty years. Employés for running these establishments shall be paid and housed by the Government also.

[423] Article 6 reserves the right to the Government to provide each Indian family with lands in severalty to the extent of forty to one hundred and twenty acres, and to guarantee possession to them. Indians are not allowed to alienate these lands.

Article 9. The Indians acknowledge their dependence upon the Government of the United States, and pledge themselves to be friendly with all citizens thereof, to commit no depredations upon the persons or property of said citizens, and to refrain from carrying on any war upon other Indian tribes.

[273] Article 10 prohibits the sale and use of liquors upon the Reservation, and Article 11 permits the Government to locate other Indian tribes thereon, the parties to this treaty not losing any rights thereby.

The treaty was proclaimed February 17, 1870.

Like most of the treaties concluded between the United States Government and the Indian tribes, this compact was made much more to the advantage of the white man than of his red brother. Not only were the stipulated annuities rather small for a body of Indians, which was then considered to number about two thousand people, but these annuities were